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Laura E. Smith

Michigan State University

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MODERNITY, MULTIPLES, AND MASCULINITY

HORACE POOLAW'S POSTCARDS OF ELDER KIOWA MEN

LAURA E. SMITH

Many Indians in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century commodified aspects of their cultures in order to make a living and sometimes present their identities, history, and artworks in ways that were satisfying to them. Ten vintage postcards from the Oklahoma Historical Society by Kiowa photographer Horace Poolaw (1906–1984) indicate that he recognized popular tastes for Plains Indian male imagery while both participating in that production and working independently of it.

Key Words: Craterville Fair, Lone Wolf, Oklahoma, Peyotism, photography, Plains Indians, Silver Horn

Laura Smith is an assistant professor of art history at Michigan State University. Her research focuses on modern and contemporary Native American art. Her 2008 dissertation, "Obscuring the Distinctions, Revealing the Divergent Visions: Modernity and Indians in the Early Works of Kiowa Photographer Horace Poolaw, 1925–1945," is currently being revised for publication by the University of Nebraska Press. Her work has also been published in American Indian Art Magazine and Third Text.

Poolaw printed some of his photographs on postcard stock to sell at local fairs in the early to mid twentieth century. In order for the postcards to appeal to the greatest number of consumers, he had to compose his images and select subject matter that fit into common visual assumptions and expectations of Indian identity, such as the "chief."

On the other hand, Poolaw created these postcards in an intense period in Oklahoma of indigenous cultural resurgence and resistance to U.S. assimilatory policies. Within this unsettled climate, many Native artists exploited new technologies and media to represent their worlds. Mass media such as newspapers and magazines provided Indian reformists and activists with a forum for their visions of a self-determining and revitalized indigenous future. Many pictures in those contexts were intended to challenge U.S. oppressive Indian policies and one-dimensional views of Indians. The potential of photography and mass technologies for social transformation was most notably applauded by Walter Benjamin as recourse against totalitarian regimes and class oppression.¹ Poolaw, while not known to have been directly linked to national progressive

indigenous organizations, did document many of the important political and cultural events of his community. He was also related to significant Kiowa leaders who had active public roles in the betterment of the community.² Therefore, it is certainly plausible to consider that, while adhering to the forms and functions of Indian imagery created for the general public in the 1920s, Poolaw's picture postcards engaged a more subversive discourse and problematized the mass consumption of Indianness. This study examines how Poolaw's postcards satisfied the desires of diverse audiences of the non-Indian popular consumer and the local Kiowa community, as well as addressed the contemporaneous regional and national indigenous efforts to preserve their cultural histories and to correct inaccuracies and negative visions of Indians.³ I further argue for their recognition as modern representations and art objects in their mechanical production and duplication, their challenge to the popularly reproduced Plains Indian chief image, and the contemporaneous indigenous desire for pictures of Indian heroes.

Complicating this endeavor, however, is the question of intentionality. Poolaw spoke little about his work to his children or friends and did not leave any records of the people and events that he photographed. The family has done a tremendous amount of work in the Kiowa community to attach names and dates to the images. I draw from their information, as well as archival resources, interviews with family members, scholars, and other Kiowa individuals. Further methodological support for my thesis comes from Rosalind Krauss, Allan Sekula, and Martha Sandweiss, who have shown that the obstacle to interpreting photographs is that they are only traces of the real, providing no real assurance of any identity or event.⁴ They have no intrinsic language, no inherent system of symbolization or signification. They depend on text or context to reveal their meaning. This article is further informed by visual culture theorists such as Henry Glassie, Igor Kopytoff, Homi Bhabha, Nicholas Thomas, Philip Deloria, and James Clifford,

who present identities, cultures, and objects as hybrid, "fractal," and unstable entities. These authors, among others, have demonstrated that context, as well as the viewer, are important factors for determining meaning, even if an artist's or author's original intentions are unknown, known to be contrary, or just different.⁵ These writings demonstrate the complex spheres of meaning amidst which photographic portraits of Indians circulate. In light of these theorists' consideration of the importance of context, I evaluate Poolaw's photographs through their insertion into the various critical discourses of the period relating to photography and Indian mass media, Indian fairs, indigenous efforts to document cultural histories, American Indian religious and political activism, and the market for Plains Indian postcards. Thus, this article will not examine Poolaw's photographs as purveyors of a static and monolithic message that Poolaw may or may not have intended, but as signs that are understood differently depending on context, history, and the viewer.

COMPLEX ICONOGRAPHIES

A close look at one of Poolaw's postcards reveals a rich array of culturally and politically expressive content related to the early-twentieth-century Kiowa historical context and the conventions of the modern Plains male stereotype. Harry A-hote, or Kau-tau-a-hote-tau (Buffalo Killer), was probably born in the 1860s (Fig. 1). He was a relative of the Poolaw family and the son-in-law of Big Tree, a renowned Kiowa soldier. He served in the all-Indian U.S. cavalry unit, Troop L, at Fort Sill in the 1890s and was an Ohomah Society member. Military societies such as these played critical roles in Kiowa pre-reservation structure, cohesion, and survival. The initiation and social advancement into these groups were vital to the development and affirmation of Kiowa masculinity. By the last third of the eighteenth century, six active military societies were known to have been maintained. The Ohomah was introduced to the Kiowa in 1884. Unlike most of the other military societies, the



FIG. 1. Horace Poolaw. *Harry A-hote or Kau-tau-a-hote-tau (Buffalo Killer)*, c. 1925–1942. Virgil Robbins Collection, 19344.40#2. Image courtesy of Oklahoma Historical Society.

Ohomah flourished in the reservation period. Its rules for enrollment were based more on ancestors' achievements rather than those of the member himself. Through the 1930s, most Ohomah men were first-born and favored sons from socially prominent families.⁶

A-hote has the otter skin-wrapped hair of peyotists.⁷ Among many Plains and Woodlands communities, otter skin was associated with healing. Peyotists adopted them for the healing powers they were thought to provide. By the 1930s only the older peyotists were wearing such attire.⁸ Peyotism, while it had been practiced among the Kiowa, Comanche, and Plains Apache since the 1870s, became a more formalized and stable institution in 1918. After the introduction of anti-peyote legislation by

missionaries, leaders of the Society of American Indians, and Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) agents, ethnologist James Mooney assisted the Kiowa and other western Oklahoma tribes in incorporating the peyote religion as the Native American Church. This, among other actions, provided some legal protection of this religious practice but did not thwart attempts by various parties to prohibit peyote use. Despite the ongoing introduction of anti-peyote bills in the 1920s, peyotists achieved further support after 1923 when the future BIA commissioner, John Collier, organized the American Indian Defense Association to protect Indian religions. Bills introduced in the Sixty-seventh, Sixty-eighth, and Sixty-ninth Congresses between 1921 and 1926 all failed, but at the state level, many laws prohibiting peyote use were successfully passed. The momentum gained from defeating opponents at the national level, as well as their newly organized structure, was partly responsible for the increase in converts among many Plains groups in the 1920s and 1930s.⁹

However, historian Hazel Hertzberg further speculates that several other factors contributed to the growth of peyotism, including the ability of Native Americans to express through religious life an independent Indian identity. Peyotism was created by indigenous peoples and provided Indian men with important and recognized opportunities to shape the strength and well-being of their communities in their own way.¹⁰ Linda Poolaw and Kiowa beadworker Vanessa Jennings have asserted that because federal authorities had forbidden so many cultural and religious practices for so long, as well as the wearing of buckskins, feathers, and/or other ritual apparel, that the opportunity that Poolaw's portraits gave to be pictured in these items was partly a defiant statement in the 1920s.

The 1920s was a time of defiance. After many years of the Indian agents and some missionaries forbidding Kiowas and other Indians to dress in traditional clothing . . . , putting on those [buckskins] was a way to defy those orders and affirm your right to

dress and express your pride in being Kiowa/Indian.¹¹

Thus, parts of A-hote's wardrobe can be read as subversive, especially in light of the ongoing anti-Indian federal actions.

On the other hand, wearing feather bonnets and "Indian" clothes was also just plain fun. "Indians love to do this," Linda Poolaw has stated.¹² A-hote is one of only two men among the ten postcards by Poolaw who wear a feather bonnet. In pre-reservation Kiowa culture, feathers represented a Kiowa soldier's achievement of a brave deed or war honor, and a man was not allowed to wear something he had not earned the right to wear. I have found in my research that by the turn of the twentieth century, the warbonnet acquired quite diverse and more complex meanings among the Kiowa. Horace's nephew Elmer Saunkeah has even claimed that the bonnet conveyed no special message, that it was just "something you wore for a special occasion, when you got dressed up."¹³

Saunkeah's comment implicates broader cultural and popular contexts during this same period in which the warbonneted Plains male had become firmly entrenched as a modern formulaic device used by both Indians and non-Indians to simply affirm Indianness. Of scholar Patricia Albers's research collection of 16,000 pre-1920 American Indian postcards, nearly 70 percent were portraits of Plains Indians identified as "chiefs" or "warriors." Many scholars have directly attributed the popularity of the Plains Indian chief image to Buffalo Bill's Wild West performances and their advertising materials. While some scholars credit early-nineteenth-century painters George Catlin, Karl Bodmer, and Charles Bird King with being the real force behind the Plains image of the American Indian, Phyllis Rogers has argued that these artists had a limited and largely elite audience. She instead attributes dime novel covers and Buffalo Bill's graphic arts as the visual precedents for the "Souian image," works that "straddled all socio-economic barriers" and reached the imagination of "the general public." Historian James Ewers has also argued

that the "phenomenal success of Buffalo Bill's shows . . . played a definite role in diffusing such Plains Indian traits as the flowing feather-bonnet, the tipi, and the war dances of the Plains tribes" across the nation.¹⁴

The beaded vest that A-hote wears was probably one owned by Poolaw's brother Bruce, an actor whose stage name was "Chief Poolaw" and was known more for his good looks than his acting or leadership abilities.¹⁵ Bruce often drew from popular conceptions of Indianness to construct his public personae; therefore, like the Indians on dime novel covers or in Wild West shows, he often donned a feather bonnet and other western beaded wear while on stage. Some aspects of Bruce's acting experiences influenced Horace's aesthetic decisions at times.¹⁶ The Kiowa never originally made beaded vests; the Cheyenne gave many of them to the Kiowa between 1880 and 1920. Some Ohomah Society families wore them.¹⁷ This vest, however, was more likely on loan from Bruce or Horace for the photograph. As confirmed by the Poolaw family, there are several examples among his portraits in which clothing items are known to have belonged not to the sitter but to Horace. The family has concluded that Horace sometimes dressed his subjects, as did many studio portrait photographers, to make these individuals fit into and play with the popular vision of an Indian or Indian chief (see Fig. 9).¹⁸

As is evident by the clothing that A-hote wears, there are multiple possibilities for interpreting the value and meaning of this portrait. Poolaw, according to his children, was meticulous about his compositional choices and sometimes asked his subjects to wear certain items for both playful and more ennobling reasons. Linda Poolaw indicated that the portrait of Horace's father, Kiowa George, in buckskins, warbonnet, and holding a bow and arrow was a picture made to honor him (Fig. 2).¹⁹ Kiowa George was an arrow maker and a sweathouse doctor. In the pre-reservation Kiowa society, men could achieve social status and economic benefits from their work as healers, artists, arrow makers, and musical instrument makers.²⁰ This



FIG. 2. Horace Poolaw. Kiowa George Poolaw, c. 1925–1939. Virgil Robbins Collection, 19344.13.10. Image courtesy of Oklahoma Historical Society.

status was carried into the twentieth century. While most non-Kiowa viewers would not have recognized the signs elucidating Kiowa prestige or subversiveness, there was a Kiowa audience for Poolaw's postcards and for images of significant leaders who would have.

VIEWERS AND CONSUMERS: THE INDIGENOUS DESIRE FOR PICTURES OF HISTORICAL HEROES

Around 1926, Horace Poolaw began work as an apprentice with photographer George Long (1881–1968) who had recently set up a studio in Mountain View. Throughout his career, Long cultivated relationships with several of the Plains tribes, including the Kiowa, Comanche,



FIG. 3. George Long. Chief Lone Wolf, c. 1920. George W. Long Collection 73.3.4.1.229. Image courtesy of the Oklahoma Historical Society/Museum of the Western Prairie.

and Apache. He was invited to photograph many dances and ceremonies as early as 1920. In addition, many Indian families, including the Poolaws, commissioned Long to take their portraits. The majority of Long's clients were the local Oklahoma Indian headmen and their families who purchased postcard photos of other tribal members. The greatest type of portraits Long sold were those of male leaders. His most famous and highly demanded portrait was of the early twentieth-century Kiowa leader Lone Wolf (Fig. 3).²¹ Besides technical advice gained in Long's studio, Poolaw most certainly witnessed the demand by high-status Indian clientele for photographs. This experience at least partly inspired his interest in taking his own pictures of significant Kiowa individuals. It is certain that there was a Kiowa desire for portraits, at least among those families who could afford them.²²

ATTRACTIVE SOUVENIRS,

Beginning with November 1st, every person who sends TWO CASH SUBSCRIPTIONS to Twin Territories (his own may be counted in this) will receive FREE, a handsome Souvenir—A LOVELY OVAL ALUMINUM PIN TRAY, in which is printed the portrait of SE-QUOY-AH, the inventor of the Cherokee Alphabet. Now, every Indian in the United States is interested in the story of Se-quoy-ah, who is rightly called the American Cadmus. The portrait printed in the tray shows the wonderful Cherokee in native dress, holding a tablet whereon appears the Cherokee alphabet. It is a beautiful Souvenir for the Indian people or anyone, and is given for TWO CASH YEARLY SUBSCRIPTIONS to this magazine.

Many other pretty Indian souvenirs are offered for subscriptions. Write for list. Excellent commission given those who will act as agent in their home towns for Twin Territories. Address.

TWIN TERRITORIES, The Indian Magazine,
Muskogee, Ind. Ter.

FIG. 4. "Attractive Souvenirs," Twin Territories: The Indian Magazine, November 1902.

This indigenous desire for pictures of prestigious leaders, generally Indian men, extended beyond the Kiowa territory and into the eastern part of the state. As early as 1902, a magazine published and edited by Cherokee tribal members offered a souvenir picture of the renowned Cherokee leader Sequoyah in exchange for two subscriptions to the publication (Fig. 4). The advertisement especially addressed "Indian people" as those who would most likely find such a portrait desirable.²³ Among the Kiowa, the possession of a picture postcard of a leader such as Lone Wolf, who sued the American government for treaty violations, could have served as an affordable way to honor his heroic efforts, as well as a sign of Kiowa determination in the ongoing fight for control over their lives. In 1967, eighty-five-year-old Kiowa Eugenia Mausape reported that she had portraits of the leaders Lone Wolf and Apeahstone. Lone Wolf's picture was on display in her home.²⁴

Besides Long, Poolaw may have also been motivated to print portraits of important Indian individuals by some contemporary indigenous artists and writers. The realization that an important generation of leaders would soon be gone prompted several Oklahoma Indian writers and artists in the 1930s to initiate portrait projects of tribal elders. In the 1930s, Osage writer John Joseph Mathews, with help from the Work Projects Administration, hired an artist to immortalize some of the elder Osage men and women in painted portraits.²⁵ At the time, Mathews was concerned that some social practices that had preserved Osage memories in the past were no longer in existence. Besides the portrait project, Mathews also collected oral histories from the elders and helped create the Osage Tribal Museum, which opened in 1938.

Around the same time, artist Acee Blue Eagle pointed to the lack of pictorial records of



FIG. 5. Horace Poolaw. Henry Tsoodle, Craterville Fair, OK, c. 1928. Virgil Robbins Collection #19344.40#8. Image courtesy of Oklahoma Historical Society.

a rapidly dying generation of old Indians and announced his intentions to paint portraits of Pawnee elders. He promoted the idea that it should be Indian artists who painted these pictures because they, better than outsiders, would “know the ones they should select.” He added that he thought the older individuals would be less likely to pose for strangers.²⁶

Both of these Oklahoma initiatives reveal similar concerns for the loss of indigenous memory. Poolaw may or may not have been aware of these endeavors, but his frequently quoted motivation for photographing Kiowa people was so that they could “remember themselves.”²⁷ His comment suggests that in a manner similar to that of Mathews and Blue Eagle, as well as that of a burgeoning generation of Native anthropologists, writers, and historians across the country, he was interested in preserving the culture’s history. Desiring to correct inaccuracies and negative visions of Indians, many indigenous people used their mission, public, or boarding-school education to pursue careers in the rewriting of American

histories and in recording their cultures’ experiences from their own point of view. Poolaw knew who was important, and like these other Indian intellectuals, pictured people who might otherwise have been unremarkable to outsider scholars, photographers, or painters.

All of the Oklahoma Historical Society postcards from the period 1925–1942 portray significant elder leaders, primarily men in the Kiowa community, most of whom were born before the Kiowa Reservation period began in 1867. While his portraits are not restricted to elder men, his postcards from this period are, with one exception. As can be gathered from their biographies, all the individuals depicted are unquestionably emblems of Kiowa history and prestige. Besides Harry A-hote, Poolaw chose Henry Tsoodle Sr. (Carrying Stones) to feature on a postcard. Tsoodle was born in 1869 and was one of the last leaders of one of the original Kiowa military societies, the Taipegau (Fig. 5). He was also a keeper of one of the ten medicine bundles, one of the most prestigious social positions in the community.

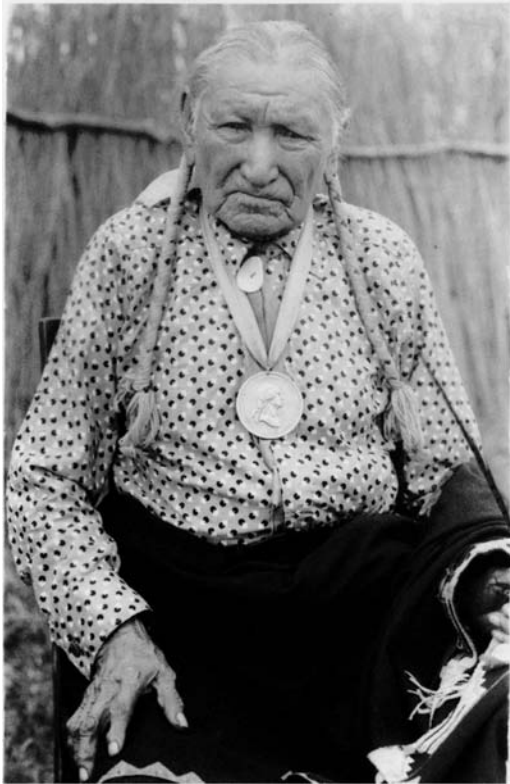


FIG. 6. Horace Poolaw. Frank Given, c. 1925–1942. Virgil Robbins Collection #19344.40#3. Image courtesy of Oklahoma Historical Society.



FIG. 7. Horace Poolaw. Bert Geikaunmah, c. 1925–1942. Virgil Robbins Collection #19344.40#5. Image courtesy of Oklahoma Historical Society.

Medicine bundles were linked to the older pre-reservation Kiowa religious belief system and were used to evoke spiritual assistance for sick people or to settle disputes. The keeper of the bundle had to care for it and use it to help maintain social harmony.²⁸ This religion continued to be relevant among some Kiowa in the Allotment Period (1901–1936).

Tsoodle also wears signs of his being a peyotist. These include an otter skin turban and hair wrappings and a feather fan. The turbans were worn prior to the development of peyotism and were worn on many important occasions by various Woodland and Plains groups. Sometimes only ceremonial leaders wore them. They were commonly ornamented with beadwork and ribbons.²⁹

Frank Given was born around 1857 and was the son of the well-known Kiowa chief Satank

(Set-a-gai) (Fig. 6). Like Tsoodle, Given was a medicine bundle keeper, inheriting it from his father. In the photo, Given is seated in front of what appears to be one of the windbreaks that the Kiowa built around their tipis. He does not wear any type of headdress, but around his neck hangs another prestigious sign, a peace medal. Fort Sill Museum director Towana Spivey indicated that he did not think Given's medal was the result of a treaty. Spivey tentatively identified this medal as a 1900 reissue of the George Washington peace medal, an updated version of the presidential series of medals. He speculated that Given's medal might have been related to a ceremony.³⁰

Bert Geikaunmah was born in 1881 and, like Tsoodle, was a member of the Taipegau (Fig. 7). While too young to have gained veteran status, Geikaunmah and Tsoodle were among those in



FIG. 8. Horace Poolaw. *Enoch Smokey*, c. 1925–1942. Virgil Robbins Collection 19344.64.6. Image courtesy of Oklahoma Historical Society.



FIG. 9. Horace Poolaw. *Heap of Bear, or Many Bears*, c. 1925–1942. Virgil Robbins Collection 19344.25.13. Image courtesy of Oklahoma Historical Society.

their teens and early twenties who were newly included as society members by the late 1800s. With the end of warfare as a tribe in 1875, many of the soldier groups that had not already ceased to function amended their membership requirements to continue to thrive during the reservation period. Geikaunmah was also a member of the Ohomah Society.

Enoch Smokey, like Silver Horn, who is discussed below, wears a buffalo headaddress (Fig. 8). In his buckskin shirt with otter skin-wrapped braids and a mescal bean bandolier, he is most likely dressed for a special occasion, possibly the Craterville Fair. He is listed among the fair's directors in 1927, 1928, and 1931.³¹ Many Bears' family reputation was known to be high because of the status of his father (also named

Many Bears) as Taime (Tai-may) Keeper and as a noted warrior (Fig. 9).³²

To-ga-mote (Dismounts in Front), or Blue Jay, and his wife, Kaun-to-hup (Likes to Trade), pose in front of a tipi (Fig. 10). Both were born in the 1850s. The fact that they are both wearing buckskins and peace medals indicates that they are dressed for a special occasion. Neither of their medals has been identified. This is one of the few early postcards in which Poolaw includes a female relative of the man portrayed. There is another version of this postcard without her, but none with her alone. As can be seen by other items that he wears or carries, Blue Jay was a peyotist. He additionally held the prestigious social position of a bundle keeper.



FIG. 10. Horace Poolaw. *To-ga-mote (Blue Jay)* and his wife *Kaun-to-hup*, c. 1925–1942. Virgil Robbins Collection #19344.40#4. Image courtesy of Oklahoma Historical Society.

Besides the various signs of Kiowa status, many of Poolaw's aesthetic decisions, possibly made in collaboration with his subjects, make use of commercial studio portraiture conventions that would have made their distinguished characters widely accessible. The steady stance and poise of the elder men in Poolaw's postcards convey a lack of inhibition and a sense of sincerity or thoughtfulness. Many boldly confront the photographer; others appear more ambivalent before the camera and caught up in a contemplative moment. Some of the portraits demonstrate careful attention to the placement of the sunlight on a portion of the subject's face, leaving the remainder in shadow. Effectively, Poolaw seems to create a view of these men that transcends mere physical description and evokes something more emotional and vital about them.

HUMANIZING PICTURES AND INDIGENOUS MASS MEDIA

As noted, many of Poolaw's aesthetic decisions were informed by commercial studio portrait photography conventions. Some studio photographers such as George Long sought to produce the truest possible likeness of the man sitting before him, one more accurate than any painter was thought to be capable of creating. In order to express something more about Lone Wolf than just how he looked, and to individualize his persona, Long employed closeup framing, dramatic lighting, blurred focus, and distinctive clothing such as a warbonnet and a peace medal (see Fig. 3). In these ways, Long conveyed this leader's "livingness and individuality."³³ In contrast to the highly lit warbonnet, Lone Wolf's face is more shadowed, and he gazes off into the distances as if caught in a contemplative, intimate moment. Rather than providing optimal access to the particular physiological aspects of his face, as in many ethnographic portraits, the image is fairly ambivalent to the body. Some portraitists used this strategy of obscuring the physicality of their sitters to draw attention to their inner characters. Long may have been interested in

portraying Lone Wolf as a thinking man, thus explaining the darkened face. The undulating manner in which parts of things appear clearly and disappear in shadow or blurriness mimics human vision. The eye never examines the world in a completely composed, detailed, and static perspective. It is always roaming and refocusing, blurring and refining. This suggestion of movement adds a sense of "livingness" to Lone Wolf's figure and the space he occupies. In light of Marcus Aurelius Root's prescription for aesthetic photographic portraiture, this kind of presentation distanced Lone Wolf's portrayal from a one-dimensional view or a banal likeness and instead offered one of more artistic expression. These aesthetic decisions are also evident in many of the studio portraits of Indians taken by Edward Curtis, Gertrude Käsebier, and William Soule.

The use of the more pictorialist aesthetics made it possible for Käsebier to humanize her indigenous subjects and elicit sympathy for their plight. By publishing portraits of Sioux Indians in a popular woman's magazine in 1901, Käsebier delivered her concerns about federal policies related to Native Americans to women with similar political agendas.³⁴ In the text accompanying the portraits, there were at least two issues relevant to the Indian reform movement to which the photographer made reference: the confinement of Indians to reservations and the inadequate or "corrupting" education they were receiving in federal Indian schools.³⁵ In this way, these pictorialist portraits had a subversive edge to them, although it is difficult to read a consistently critical voice in the portraits themselves. Posed in ambiguous settings, the subjects cannot with any certainty be linked to a temporal space and contemporaneous political issues (Fig. 11). Rather, they exist more as generic, exotic, and static emblems of a Plains pre-reservation culture and Käsebier's romantic childhood memories of "bands of roving men, still free to come and go at will, with never a thought of 'reservations.'"³⁶

These artful types of Indian portraits are also found in Indian-owned and/or -edited

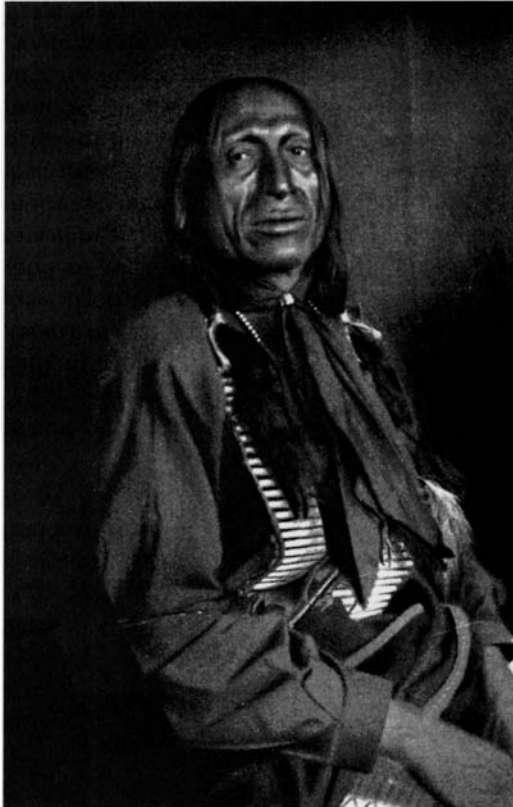


FIG. 11. Gertrude Käsebier. *Iron Tail*, *Everybody's Magazine*, frontpiece, January 1901.

newspapers and later early-twentieth-century periodicals. Pictures accompanied news, editorials, and stories that often advanced the critical social power of Native Americans. The first tribal newspaper, the *Cherokee Phoenix*, was established by the Cherokee in Georgia in 1828 to direct readers to resist stereotypes of Indians as savages and garner support for Cherokee sovereignty. In 1844 the Cherokee reestablished their presses in Oklahoma, followed shortly after by the Creek and Choctaw. By the 1890s, Indian Territory was the national center of the Indian-owned and -published press. Daniel Littlefield and James Parins have documented ninety-six newspapers that were established in Oklahoma between the 1840s and the 1920s, out of a national total of two hundred Indian and Alaska Native presses active in roughly the same period.³⁷

One magazine, *Twin Territories*, published initially in Muskogee, Oklahoma, between 1898 and 1904 included regular features on prominent Indian citizens, complete with photographs and biographical information. These profiles, as indicated by the photo captions, were meant to highlight their beauty and prestige, as well as their pride in being Indian.³⁸ The magazine also countered demeaning representations of Indians found in other non-Indian newspapers. One writer noticed an article in "one of the large daily papers" that suggested to (non-Indian) housewives that Indian girls who were learning domestic skills in schools were apt to make great servants. The *Twin Territories* writer sought to broaden this unnamed author's perspective on educated Indians, affirm that Indians was not descended from a slave people, and assure those same housewives that Indians will "not be content to serve" and "will continue to advance and to push onward toward a higher, broader life."³⁹ Clearly anxious to disassociate Indians from African Americans, the writer nonetheless employs the indigenous press to confront negative perceptions of Native Americans, present a powerful cultural picture, and deliver her opinion widely.

This kind of "back talk" on mythical notions of Indians is also sometimes evident in non-Indian newspapers. Among two of Poolaw's postcard portraits that appeared in a 1932 issue of the capital city's major paper, the *Daily Oklahoman*, was that of Frank Given. The article accompanying Given's picture reported on the Medicine Lodge Treaty Pageant in the fall of that year, a historical commemoration and reenactment of the 1876 treaty signing near Medicine Lodge, Kansas. Many descendants of the original Kiowa signers, among other tribes, participated in this event. Journalist Alvin Rucker indicates that Given (as a descendent of one of the great Kiowa chiefs) "possessed intellectual . . . talents." Rucker's comment coupled with Given's likeness set up a potent contrast to the presumably demeaning perceptions of Indians that he felt were held by most of "the thousands of whites who viewed the

colorful pageant."⁴⁰ While we have seen that Poolaw's portraits carry diverse and conflicting messages in and of themselves, the texts that accompany this image and its placement as an object in a newspaper framed the image as a critique of stereotypical perceptions of Indians to a mass audience. Democratizing technologies such as photography and mass media made it possible to construct, disseminate, and own a picture of one's view of self, culture, or history and lent themselves, at minimum, to a sense of personal liberation, if not also to the ability to challenge the exclusivity of demeaning imagery and the racist rationales held by American individuals and which were behind many federal policies. While Poolaw never engaged the services of a printing factory to mass produce his postcards, his endeavor to produce multiple copies of Plains Indian heroes and have some published in newspapers is a decidedly modern one. Considering Walter Benjamin's utopic vision for mechanical reproductions, in some contexts, Poolaw's postcards can be envisioned as tools that destabilized ideas or visions of Indians, and thus, power relations between them and their colonizers.

PLAINS INDIAN POSTCARDS

Poolaw's postcards are, on the one hand, artful visions and commemorations of Indian male achievement; they are also objects created by a mechanical medium capable of producing multiple copies. To be marketable objects outside the Kiowa or local indigenous communities, they had to appeal to a wide range of consumers who were most likely not familiar with the history of the Kiowa or the individuals' biographies.

Two postcards of Indian men published in 1906 and 1907 illustrate some typical stylistic conventions (Figs. 12 and 13). In both postcards, the same type of long, feathered warbonnet dominates and frames each of these men. The figures are isolated in the picture frame in front of a blank background. The ambiguous spaces of these postcards are devoid of signs of any contemporary activity, urban environment,

or landscape to positively anchor their identities in the present. The use of proper names in captions on the two warbonneted Indian postcards mimics the text of Wild West show posters which exploited the celebrity achieved by some Indians to attract crowds. Name recognition of Indians was increasingly important to the promotion of Buffalo Bill's performances after 1900 and apparently also to the marketing of postcards of Plains Indians. Albers has found that "most collectible postcards of Plains Indians assigned a proper name to the subject, even if it was incorrect." Tall Man Dan's name was a misinterpretation of Peter Tall Mandan, for example. She further indicates that the title of "chief" frequently accompanied this name, whether or not the man had actually held a position of leadership and privilege in his community. Captions were also more likely to appear on cards made for a national audience, whereas a lack of text suggests they were more likely made for local consumers who would presumably recognize the subject.⁴¹

The use of vivid, and in some areas, broad planes of flat color also links the two postcards to the dramatic graphic art presentations of Indians on Buffalo Bill Wild West show posters or dime novel covers. Historian Joy Kasson finds that it was in particular the color of the Wild West posters and programs that generated fantastic, "gripping," and commercially successful Indian images for the non-Indian audiences.⁴² Poolaw's postcards largely depart from these Wild West depictions in his use of black and white photography, although he did hand-color some of his images. However, many other examples of unpainted picture postcards of Plains Indian men exist and were just as commercially viable as those that were colored. Edward Curtis produced a series of postcards on Indian subjects in 1904, appealing more to the tourist market to offset the expense of producing his "fine art" prints.⁴³ Like his larger photogravures, the postcards were uncolored.

There are other ways that Poolaw's postcard portraits conform to popular notions of Indians that the average fairgoer or Wild West show viewer would have understood. First, he chose



FIGS. 12 AND 13. Unknown photographer. California Indian Chief "Standing Bear," c. 1906, (left). Tall Man Dan, Sioux, c. 1907, (right). Original photograph taken by De Lancey W. Gill of Peter Tall Mandan, son of Long Mandan, c. March 1905. Images from author's collection.

images of individuals that would have been accessible representations of Indianness. The men on Poolaw's postcards are specially dressed and feathered enough to conform to the standards of the popular Plains Indian chief or noble warrior imagery. Of the variety of ages and genders apparent in Poolaw's oeuvre in this early period, he did not pick young Kiowa men of his generation or, for the most part, women of any age for these postcards.⁴⁴ The lack of female imagery follows the characteristics of most Plains Indian postcards produced in the early twentieth century.⁴⁵

Secondly, even though the lack of text might suggest that Poolaw's cards were more personal images, not in need of any identifying information, these Indians are also anonymous enough to appeal to a non-Indian and/

or tourist audience less interested in Indians as individuals. The composition of Poolaw's cards is similar to that of other mass-produced Plains Indian postcards. The figures are isolated in the picture frame and the pictures are devoid of signs of modern wooden houses, cars, or any other contemporary activity to positively anchor their identities to a particular time or place. It is apparent that, depending on who was doing the looking, Poolaw's portraits carried multiple messages.

VIEWERS AND CONSUMERS:

THE CRATERVILLE FAIR AND PERFORMANCES OF HISTORY

A final context to examine the ways in which Poolaw's postcards circulated was the

Craterville Fair. Created in 1924 by white entrepreneur Frank Rush and a coalition of Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache Indians, the Craterville Fair was established on Rush's land near Lawton, Oklahoma. It was promoted in newspapers as the first all-Indian Fair. "This will be the first Indian fair in history, conducted widely by the Indians without the aid of white men. All officers and directors, judges and exhibitors will be Indians." The emphasis on the fair's novelty as Indian-run enhanced its appeal to Indian audiences and to curious non-Indian tourists, as well as to many photographers.⁴⁶

Craterville Fair was part of a growing trend of intertribal public events that were actually supported and initially directed by the Indian Bureau. L. G. Moses indicates that one of the first of these fairs was held on the Crow Reservation in Montana in 1905. However, Muriel Wright notes that in Indian Territory and Oklahoma, a few Indian fairs attracted attention as early as the 1870s. But the frequency with which these fairs were held grew rapidly across the country after 1900, from just two in 1909 to fifty-four in 1915.⁴⁷ Federal representatives envisioned Indian fairs as a way to promote agricultural or industrial pursuits on the reservations, as well as provide wholesome entertainments such as ball games.

Many tribal leaders who increasingly took charge of managing the fairs in the 1920s and 1930s saw their potential to foster the economic advancement and leadership of Indian people. Indian-directed fairs, such as Craterville, were the result of that latter goal and contemporaneous political efforts toward self-determination. Craterville's intertribal board of directors further anticipated the opportunity to openly perform and celebrate Indian dances. At most fairs, federal representatives were unable to prevent them from taking place.⁴⁸ Besides offering a steady flow of customers, the context for four of Poolaw's portraits of Indian male leaders was a significant event that was largely created to affirm indigenous culture and authority.⁴⁹ However, non-Indian press coverage of this event frequently reified "chief" stereotypes and described the indigenous participants as dis-

tinct from the human race. One unidentified writer reporting on the fair in 1929 commented on the presence of "grim-visaged Indian 'bucks' in their Indian war paint and regalia" stalking about the fairgrounds.⁵⁰

Probably at least partly at the bidding of Frank Rush, a few older Kiowa participated in historical reenactments and demonstrated early transportation, hunting techniques, and crafts like arrow-making. For this occasion, they dressed in old-style clothing (Fig. 14).⁵¹ As a result, many of the pictures that photographers took at this fair document performances of the past rather than construct a true likeness of the Indians as they actually lived and dressed in the 1920s. This type of presentation would have presented an "authentically Indian" personage for non-Indian fairgoers. Yet the images also reference actual Native cultural histories, so postcards are not completely divorced from the subjects' realities or their desires to present their past in ways that were meaningful to them. They operate in between those dichotomies of past and present, performance and reality.

Silver Horn, or Haun-gooah, was born in 1861 and was a descendent of the most famous Kiowa leader, Tohausen (Little Bluff), who lived from 1833 to 1866 (Fig. 15). Silver Horn worked as an artist from the late 1870s to the early 1910s and was a revered mentor to many young Kiowa painters. More than a thousand of his drawings survive today. In 1891 he joined the Indian Troop L of the Seventh Cavalry stationed at Fort Sill. Some of the prestige associated with the old soldier societies was transferred to those who served in the military. Many of the men who enlisted in this U.S. Army all-Indian troop experiment were descendents of prominent war leaders.⁵²

Silver Horn was also a peyotist and is wearing a mescal bean bandolier that indicates that religious affiliation. His headdress is made of buffalo hide with horns. Silver Horn's name, which is also translated as Metal Horn, alludes to a dangerous Kiowa mythological bison whose horns shone like polished metal when sunlight reflected from them. While he was not named directly after this figure, his designation was



FIG. 14. Unknown photographer. Kiowa Indians in Prehistoric Costume, Craterville Park, Okla. No. 5 (Hunting Horse, Silver Horn, and Mary Buffalo), c. 1928. Image from author's collection.

supposed to give him the strength of a bison.⁵³ It might appear, then, that he wore this headdress to make reference to his name. However, among the Kiowa, the buffalo headdress was soldier apparel worn in combat or during the Buffalo Dance, which was a pre-reservation war dance held so that the soldiers could garner the buffalo's power and courage.⁵⁴ This dance, or the more modern war dance, the Omaha or Ohomo (O-ho-mah after 1927), may have been one of those performed at the Craterville Fair, and Silver Horn might have participated in either of them.

While most of the younger dancers performed the new, flashy, "fancy" war dances, many of the elder Kiowa men, despite federal prohibition against them, presented the old war dances at fairs and exhibitions like Craterville. "Fairs . . . became the medium through which War Dancing survived."⁵⁵ By wearing the headdress, Silver Horn identified himself as an esteemed soldier, and one who resisted federal restrictions against those practices that were

significant to the affirmation and commemoration of his identity.

However, there are aspects of Silver Horn's portrait that express a performed historical identity rather than his contemporary nature or status. The headdress and the hide apron wrapped around Silver Horn's waist was by the 1920s an old style of dress for men, apparel indicative of the pre-reservation Kiowa period. With the extinction of the buffalo in the reservation period, men more commonly wrapped a blanket around their waists. It was rare to still have a hide such as the one Silver Horn has in this period. In order for many families to dress in such old-time attire for the fair, they often made creative substitutions. The family reports that the robe Silver Horn wore for the Craterville Fair was one with which he slept and was quite worn.⁵⁶

A couple of other ways to think about Silver Horn's attire as "old-style" is to compare it to the elaborately feathered outfits worn by the younger male dancers, as well as to the



FIG. 15. Horace Poolaw. *Silver Horn*, c. 1928. Virgil Robbins Collection #19344.40#1. Image courtesy of Oklahoma Historical Society.

uniforms of World War I soldiers. “Fancy” war dance styles and outfits were introduced in Kiowa country by 1917. These dances were faster and had more complicated steps with splits and back-flips. The dancer’s clothing incorporated flashy new materials such as sequins, fringe, and long strands of bells. Stylistically, this attire had its origins in that worn by members of the Kiowa military societies. But the manner of war dance dress was also influenced by demands for exciting and dramatic presentations at Wild West shows and other expositions, in addition to the men’s own desires for the more ornate, bold, and modern appearances. Further, many of the younger Kiowa were not being inducted into the older soldier societies, most of which had



FIG. 16. Horace Poolaw. *Hunting Horse (Tsatoke)*, Craterville Fair, c. 1928. Virgil Robbins Collection #19344.64.5. Image courtesy of Oklahoma Historical Society.

ceased to exist, so the new dances and outfits were more suited to their needs.⁵⁷ By the 1920s, Kiowa men had fought as U.S. soldiers and were wearing those uniforms. Nearly 17,000 Native Americans served in World War I, including two of Poolaw’s older brothers.⁵⁸ In this light, Poolaw’s postcard portrait of *Silver Horn*, in terms of presenting a Kiowa soldier identity, is a historical portrayal, not a modern likeness.

Hunting Horse (Tsa-toke) was born around 1846 and attained military status in the tribe for his service in the U.S. Army as a scout in the 1870s (Fig. 16). According to his son Cecil Horse, his father was elected to a position of chief for that army service and other contributions to the community.⁵⁹ At the time Poolaw took this picture, *Hunting Horse* was very well

known and was among the oldest living men in the community. He was also a peyote leader and a Christian. He wears an atypical turban for Kiowa men and, like Silver Horn, an old-style buffalo hide wrapped around his waist. Possibly not possessing the more common otter skin turban, Hunting Horse presumably obtained some buffalo hide and put together his own unique interpretation. In this picture, also taken at the Craterville Fair, he appears to be demonstrating historic Kiowa hunting techniques or taking part in one of the fair's arrow-shooting competitions.⁶⁰

Hunting Horse was a self-appointed cultural historian. He enjoyed not only telling stories about Kiowa history but also reenacting them. He took part in at least two films. The first, *Old Texas* (1916), directed by Charles Goodnight, featured several Kiowa, including Hunting Horse, demonstrating how they used to hunt buffalo. The second, *The Daughter of Dawn* (1920), directed by Norbert Myles, was reportedly based on an old Indian love story. The first all-Indian cast in a Hollywood movie was primarily drawn from the Comanche, Kiowa, and Apache tribes. It was filmed entirely in Oklahoma. Hunting Horse played a Comanche chief and the father of Dawn, the focus of romantic attention by two suitors.⁶¹ Thus, Hunting Horse was certainly renowned as a performer, as much as for his leadership in the community. In this light, his portrait by Poolaw reflects both a performed and actual likeness.

For most non-Indians, the disjunction between past and present Indian identities would have been indecipherable. However, to Poolaw, his subjects, and most indigenous consumers of the postcards, the theatricality of the portrait would have exposed its artificiality and presented a more unstable and uncertain Indian. Poolaw frequently employed parody of Indian stereotypes in his portraits, and some of his subjects "played Indian" with him. In this way, many of his portraits undermine those one-dimensional understandings of Indians, particularly of Plains Indian men.

CONCLUSION

Susan Stewart has argued that postcards or photographs as souvenirs, through mass technologies and the commodification of identities, can be read as delivering to the non-Indian public a domesticated, exotic subject, "a specimen or a trophy." Reduced to a miniature and one-dimensional scale, the postcard and magazine portraits allow "the tourist to appropriate, consume, and thereby 'tame' the cultural other."⁶² However, this kind of reading presumes a monolithic consumer and the single context of popular or colonial consumption. Stewart also relies upon a static understanding of postcard pictures of indigenous subjects as exotic or primitive, rather than being more discursive.

Walter Benjamin falls into a similar trap in his approach to mechanical reproduction as made possible by photography. He fails to account for the fact that the accessibility of representations, in and of itself, does not systematically ensure the development of a critically engaged mass audience that rises up against injustice. The type of image, its physical form, function, and its viewer, consumer, and context matter. Poolaw's postcards problematize a colonizer's authority over Indian identity in some ways, but none is a completely straightforward expression of modern Indians and their rights to sovereignty.

Poolaw's postcards were undoubtedly seen by some viewers in several contexts as conventional views of Plains Indians, yet for other consumers and audiences they also confounded the mass consumption of Indianness in their deviations from those norms. They are "Indian chiefs" and Kiowa heroes. While his postcards had limited impact on social and political change, they do fulfill some of the expectations of those who had utopic visions for mechanically reproduced art. In their affordability and accessibility, they had a democratic nature. They put in the hands of the many a picture of indigenous valor and virtue.

NOTES

1. By referencing Benjamin, I am not suggesting that Poolaw or any other Kiowa individual harbored Marxist sympathies. Rather I am interested in calling upon a Marxian critique of art history that exposes how privileged classes or races advance their own ideologies through art or visual culture to promote their own interests. Benjamin's utopic thesis, while problematic, provides a clear connection between modernity, mass media, photographic reproduction, and public empowerment. I believe Poolaw's postcards participate in this kind of a discourse. A radical intent by Poolaw cannot be "proven"; however, it is possible to examine the degree to which his mechanically reproduced images complicated a monolithic "discourse on reality" or truth related to (indigenous) identity and/or political experience in the early twentieth century. I am also drawing here from some ideas raised by Coco Fusco, who looks beyond authorial intentionality and demonstrates how photographic images participated in a "counter-hegemonic humanistic" discourse within certain contexts, both public and private. She references one of Poolaw's images as one example to support her ideas. Coco Fusco, "Racial Time, Racial Marks, Racial Metaphors," in *Only Skin Deep: Changing Visions of the American Self*, ed. Coco Fusco and Brian Wallis, 39–40 (New York: International Center of Photography in association with Harry N. Abrams Publishers, 2003).

2. Poolaw was a devout Democrat and an avid reader of newspapers, often sending letters to the editor. Horace's father, Kiowa George, took part in tribal government, holding a position on the Business Committee Council at least once in 1914. Jasper Saunkeah, Poolaw's brother-in-law, served on the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache council during 1923–25 and 1930–34, and was elected as chairman of the council at least two different times. He often employed Horace's skills as a photographer to bring attention to Kiowa events, as well as most certainly to advance his political career. Saunkeah was an advocate for the tribe on various land and economic issues, writing letters and articles to federal officials to raise awareness about Kiowa poverty and disenfranchisement, even testifying before Congress in 1930. He also supported the candidacy of Senator Elmer Thomas, who according to Jasper's son Elmer Saunkeah, "helped the Kiowas a lot and his father worked with him on tribal issues." Linda and Robert Poolaw, interview with author, January 17, 2004; Elmer T. Saunkeah, telephone interview with author, February 4, 2007; Jasper Saunkeah, "Kiowas Fear They May Lose Allotted Lands," *Harlow's Weekly* June 16, 1934; U.S. Senate, Subcommittee of the Committee on Indian Affairs, *Survey on*

the Conditions of the Indians of the United States, Seventy-first Congress, 3rd sess. (1930): 7331–7343; letter, Jasper Saunkeah and Ned Brace to J. Henry Scattergood, Assistant Commissioner on Indian Affairs, October 26, 1931, Record Group 75, Kiowa CCF 1907–1939, 054–056, Box 11, National Archives, Washington, DC; Business Meeting Notes of the Business Committee, June 4, 1914, Record Group 75, Kiowa CCF 1907–1939, 055, Box 11, National Archives, Washington, DC.

3. For a partial list of Native Americans involved in the written documentation their cultures, see Margot Liberty, *American Indian Intellectuals of the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1978).

4. Rosalind Krauss, "The Photographic Conditions of Surrealism," in *Originality of the Avant Garde and Other Modernist Myths*. (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1986), 110–12; Martha Sandweiss, *Print the Legend: Photography and the American West* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 216; Allan Sekula, "The Traffic in Photographs" (1981) in *Photography Against the Grain: Essays and Photo Works, 1973–1983*, 77–101 (Halifax: Press of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, 1984).

5. Henry Glassie, "Tradition," *Journal of American Folklore* 108, no. 430 (Autumn 1995): 395, 398–99, 405; Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (1994; London: Routledge, 2006); James Clifford, "On Collecting Art and Culture," in *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art*, 215–51 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988); Igor Kopytoff, "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process," in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai, 64–91 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Nicholas Thomas, *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991); Philip Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2006).

6. William C. Meadows, *Kiowa, Apache, and Comanche Military Societies* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1999), 39, 103, 107. I wish to thank Bill Meadows for his assistance with identifying the society memberships of the individuals on the postcards and the meaning of their clothing and other regalia.

7. Bill Meadows, written communication with author, November 2004.

8. Daniel C. Swan, *Peyote Religious Art: Symbols of Faith and Belief* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1999), 53–55.

9. Hazel Hertzberg, *The Search for an American Indian Identity: Modern Pan-Indian Movements*

(Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1971), 274–79.

10. Ibid., 280–82. Among the Kiowa, the leadership and participation of Indian women in peyotism was highly restricted, although in the 1930s Weston La Barre indicated that nonmenstruating women over thirteen years old were being allowed into meetings. See *The Peyote Cult* (1938; Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989), 46.

11. Linda Poolaw comments on this issue in “Photography and Native American Culture” (guest lecture, Smith College, 2002); Vanessa Jennings (Kiowa), interview with author, Anadarko, OK, October 2005.

12. L. Poolaw, “Photography and Native American Culture.”

13. Elmer T. Saunkeah, telephone interview with author, Oklahoma City, OK, February 4, 2007.

14. Patricia C. Albers, “Symbols, Souvenirs, and Sentiments: Postcard Imagery of Plains Indians, 1898–1918,” in *Delivering Views: Distant Cultures in Early Postcards*, ed. Christraud M. Geary and Virginia-Lee Webb, 67 (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1998); John C. Ewers, “The Emergence of the Plains Indian as the Symbol of the North American Indian,” *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1964), 541. See also Phyllis Rogers, *The Image of the American Indian, Produced and Directed by “Buffalo Bill,”* exhibited at the Museum of Cultural History, February 18–April 12, 1981, Pamphlet Series no. 13 (University of California, Los Angeles, 1981).

15. Linda and Robert Poolaw, interview with author, Anadarko, OK, January 17, 2004.

16. Ibid.

17. Bill Meadows, written communication, November 2004.

18. Linda and Robert Poolaw interview, January 17, 2004.

19. Linda Poolaw, interview with author, Anadarko, OK, October 2005.

20. Bernard Mishkin, *Rank and Warfare among the Plains Indians* (1940; Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), 35; Weston La Barre et al., typescript of students’ notes, p. 327, Laboratory of Anthropology, 1935 Field School, Papers of Weston La Barre, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.

21. Cecil Chesser, “Lone Wolf Photographer Captures Valuable History,” *Altus (Oklahoma) Times-Democrat*, June 14, 1964, 3; Bart McClenny, “The Accidental Historian: The Photographic Legacy of George Washington Long,” *Great Plains Journal* 39 (2003): 29–46.

22. Linda Poolaw confirmed that her father’s photographs were sold to both Indians and non-

Indians. He also sold 5 × 7 and 8 × 10-inch portraits to Kiowa individuals and to local restaurants. Linda and Robert Poolaw, interview with author, Anadarko, OK, October 2005.

23. *Twin Territories, the Indian Magazine*, November 1902, n.p.

24. While Apeahstone’s heroic legacy is more controversial than Lone Wolf’s, in the 1967 interview Mausape underscores her view of this leader as “a good one . . . he talk straight. He don’t talk crooked like Quanah Parker. Quanah Parker is a bad man. He’s the one that sold our reservation.” She also identified Lone Wolf as a “good” chief. Eugenia Mausape, interview by Julia Jordan, September 14, 1967, 14–17, Doris Duke Oral History Collection, Western History Collection, University of Oklahoma, Norman, OK.

25. John Joseph Mathews, *Talking to the Moon* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945), 126–36.

26. “Indian Portrait Series Planned,” *Tulsa World*, August 20, 1939.

27. Linda Poolaw, catalogue essay in *War Bonnets, Tin Lizzies, and Patent Leather Pumps: Kiowa Culture in Transition, 1925–1955* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University, 1990), 13.

28. Jerrold E. Levy, “Kiowa,” in *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 13, pt. 2: *Plains* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001), 913.

29. Swan, *Peyote Religious Art*, 53–55.

30. Towana Spivey, interview with author, Fort Sill Museum, Fort Sill, OK, October 19, 2005.

31. Muriel H. Wright, “The American Indian Exposition in Oklahoma,” *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 24, no. 2 (1946): 160; Fair Program, 1927 Fourth Annual Exhibition, Craterville Park Indian Fair Association, and letter, Herman Asenap to the Secretary of U.S. Agriculture, January 20, 1928, Record Group 75, Kiowa CCF 1907–1939, 033–047, Box 7, National Archives, Washington, DC.

32. Meadows, *Kiowa, Apache, and Comanche Military Societies*, 100. The Tai-may is a power symbol connected with the Sun Dance religion.

33. These were the qualities, according to daguerreotypist Marcus Aurelius Root, that differentiated ordinary portraits from artistic ones. Robert Sobieszek and Odette Appel, *The Daguerreotypes of Southworth and Hawes* (New York: Dover Publications, 1980), xvi.

34. Elizabeth Hutchinson, “When the ‘Sioux Chief’s Party Calls’: Käsebier’s Indian Portraits and the Gendering of the Artist’s Studio,” *American Art*, Summer 2002, 58–60.

35. Ibid., 58; Gertrude Käsebier, “Some Indian Portraits,” *Everybody’s Magazine*, January 1901, 3–4.

36. Käsebier, “Some Indian Portraits,” 3.

37. Daniel F. Littlefield and James W. Parins, *American Indian and Alaska Native Newspapers and*

Periodicals (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1984), 1:xi–xviii; see also appendix B.

38. See, for example, “A Beauty of the Cherokee Tribe, Miss Helen Severs” and “Miss Leota Crabtree, a beautiful girl who is proud of her Creek blood,” *Twin Territories*, July 1902, 204; “Coming Men of Indian Territory,” *Twin Territories*, November 1902, 326; “Mrs. Florence Stephens-Lennon, a Beautiful Cherokee Woman: One of the Most Accomplished Musicians of Indian Territory,” *Twin Territories*, January 1903, 14.

39. “Will the Indian Girl Solve the Servant Question?” *Twin Territories*, July 1902, 199.

40. Alvin Rucker, “Years Are Rolled Back in Colorful Commemoration of Indian Treaty’s Signing,” *Daily Oklahoman*, October 9, 1932, 12A; Alvin Rucker Notes, Medicine Lodge Treaty Pageant, Vertical File, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, OK.

41. Joy S. Kasson, *Buffalo Bill’s Wild West: Celebrity, Memory, and Popular History* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2000), 198; Patricia C. Albers and William R. James, “Tourism and the Changing Photographic Image of the Great Lakes Indians,” *Annals of Tourism Research* 10 (1983): 133; Albers, *Symbols, Souvenirs, and Sentiments*, 69.

42. Kasson, *Buffalo Bill’s Wild West*, 195–96.

43. Christopher Lyman, *The Vanishing Race and Other Illusions: Photographs of Indians by Edward S. Curtis* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1982), 55.

44. This changes in the 1940s or 1950s when women and children of all ages are much more commonly depicted as subjects for his postcards.

45. Albers, *Symbols, Souvenirs, and Sentiments*, 69. When I asked Linda Poolaw why she thought her father chose the particular images he did for printing on postcards, she said he knew the market for “Indians” (interview, January 2005).

46. “Indian Fair at Craterville on Next Thursday,” *Lawton Constitution*, August 8, 1924, 1.

47. L. G. Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians, 1883–1933* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), 207, 212; Muriel H. Wright, “The American Indian

Exposition in Oklahoma,” *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 24, no. 2 (1946): 159.

48. Clyde Ellis, *A Dancing People: Powwow Culture on the Southern Plains* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2003), 65–66.

49. In the early 1930s, various individuals from the Kiowa-Comanche-Apache tribes accused Frank Rush of exploiting Indians and began planning for the establishment of the Anadarko Indian Exposition in 1933, which still occurs every August.

50. “Indians Start Pilgrimage to Craterville for Annual Fair Starting Next Thursday,” *Lawton Constitution*, August 25, 1929, 6.

51. “Dress Parade of Old Indian Costumes Will Feature Tribesmen’s Fair Today,” *Lawton Constitution*, August 28, 1925, 1; Candace Greene, *Silver Horn: Master Illustrator of the Kiowas* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2001), 44–45.

52. Greene, *Silver Horn*, 3, 31, 38.

53. *Ibid.*, 33.

54. Maurice Boyd, *Kiowa Voices: Ceremonial Dance, Ritual, and Song* (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 1981), 1:55–57.

55. Meadows, *Kiowa, Apache, and Comanche Military Societies*, 125.

56. Boyd, *Kiowa Voices*, 7; Greene, *Silver Horn*, 44.

57. Ellis, *A Dancing People*, 111–16.

58. Meadows, *Kiowa, Apache, and Comanche Military Societies*, 385.

59. Mary Ellen Ryan, “Custer’s Hunting Horse,” *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 34, no. 3 (1956): 326–35; Cecil Horse, interview by Julia Jordan, June 13, 1967, 15–22, and July 26, 1967, 5–10, Doris Duke Oral History Collection, Western History Collection, University of Oklahoma, Norman, OK.

60. My thanks to Candace Greene and Daniel Swan for identifying the turban as “atypical.”

61. Leo Kelley, “The Daughter of Dawn: An Original Silent Film with an Oklahoma Indian Cast,” *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 77, no. 3 (1999): 290–99.

62. Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (1993; Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999), 137–38, 144–47.